CHAPTER 3

Reconciling Nationalist Loyalties

JUNE 21

National Aboriginal Day parade
Fort McMurray

JUNE 24

Fête nationale parade
Québec City

FEBRUARY 18

Chinese New Year parade
Vancouver

AUGUST 12

Edmonton Caribbean Arts Festival parade
Edmonton

Figure 3-1 According to an old saying, everybody loves a parade. The photographs on this page seem to suggest that this is true. All the photographs show people at parades that are celebrating an aspect of a group's national identity.

CHAPTER ISSUE

How should people reconcile their contending nationalist loyalties?

PARADES OFTEN celebrate a community's identity. Many parades give people a chance to say, "Hey, everyone join our celebration!" They give people a chance to express and promote aspects of their collective — and often their national — identity.

Spectators may or may not be a part of the community staging the parade. As a result, parades can help people from various communities learn about one another.

In the parades shown on the previous page, people are expressing aspects of their identity — including their national identity. Examine the photographs, then respond to the following questions:

- Which parade would you most like to attend? Does your choice reflect an aspect of your identity, a desire to celebrate other people's identity — or something else?
- How are the people participating in these parades expressing their nationalist loyalty?
- Can the same parade express both nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties? Explain your response.
- Would you attend a parade that does not directly express a loyalty you embrace? Would you attend a parade that expresses a loyalty that conflicts with your own? Why or why not?

KEY TERMS

- contending loyalties
- cultural pluralism
- reasonable accommodation
- sovereignists
- federalists
- reconciliation
- royal commission
- land claim

LOOKING AHEAD

In this chapter, you will explore how people should reconcile their contending nationalist loyalties. You will do this by responding to the following questions:

- How do nationalist loyalties shape people's choices?
- What choices have people made to affirm nationalist loyalties?
- How can nationalist loyalties create conflict?
- How have people reconciled contending nationalist loyalties?

My Journal on Nationalism

Have your ideas about nationalism been changing? If so, how and why? If not, why not? Date your ideas and keep them in your journal, notebook, learning log, portfolio, or computer file so that you can revisit them as you progress through this course.

How do nationalist loyalties shape people's choices?

Loyalty means being firmly committed or faithful to someone or something. You can be loyal to an idea, a value, a cause, or a nation. You can also be loyal to people, including yourself.

You can publicly show your loyalty to your nation by participating in a national parade or celebration. When Victoria Callihoo, for example, decided to record her people's history, she publicly showed her loyalty to the Métis. But loyalty can also be private, and last for a long time, like the quiet commitment of two people united in a lifelong relationship.

Other words used to describe loyalty include "allegiance," "devotion," and "attachment." Which of these descriptions of loyalty best reflects what loyalty means to you? Think of an example in your own life to illustrate what loyalty means to you.

<<< CheckBack

You read about Victoria Callihoo and her history of the Métis people in Chapter 2.

Figure 3-2 Loyalty

Loyalties and Choices

Loyalty often comes into play when you are faced with a choice and required to make a decision. Choices based on loyalty can range from easy decisions that require little thought to difficult decisions that require great sacrifice.

Suppose, for example, that a friend is being bullied. You may be afraid, but you decide to defend your friend despite your fear. Would showing loyalty to your friend in this way be a hard choice to make?

Then suppose that two good friends of yours are running for the same office on your school's student council. Both friends expect your support. You feel loyalty to both, but you can vote for only one. How would you decide which friend to vote for?

Some circumstances make it harder to be loyal than others, especially when being loyal seems to conflict with your own interests. Think, for example, about people who choose to become police officers or firefighters or to join the armed forces. Or think about the young volunteers with Katimavik, who commit to spending nine months helping people in communities across Canada. How might choosing to join organizations like these test a person's loyalties?

Figure 3-3 In 2006, volunteers with the Canadian youth organization Katimavik helped people in Sainte-Rose-du-Nord, Québec, reclaim wood from an abandoned building. By helping people in communities across Canada, Katimavik volunteers believe they are helping to build the Canadian nation "one community at a time."

Patriotism and Loyalty

Patriotism can mean love of one's country or nation. Like love of people, patriotism results in many kinds of behaviour, including loyalty. Love of people has inspired behaviour as different as offering a gift of flowers and risking one's own life to protect loved ones. Similarly, patriotism has inspired behaviour as different as marching in a parade and risking one's life to defend a nation.

Risking — and even losing — your life in the service of your country can inspire patriotism and loyalty in others. In 2007, Jay Forbes started an online petition to rename an Ontario section of Highway 401 the Highway of Heroes to honour soldiers who have died in Afghanistan. The section of highway runs between Canadian Forces Base Trenton — where planes carrying soldiers' bodies home from Afghanistan land — and Toronto. For months, crowds of people, including military veterans and emergency service providers, had lined the route to honour those who had died.

In the first four days, Forbes collected 4500 signatures. By the time the stretch of highway was renamed, he had collected 62 107 signatures. On September 7, 2007, Ontario premier Dalton McGuinty formally announced the name change, saying, "This Highway of Heroes reminds us that our freedom, safety and prosperity is often purchased by the sacrifices of others."

Could a homecoming parade for Canadian soldiers be both a protest against war and a display of patriotism?

Figure 3-4 Firefighters and a war veteran with a Canadian flag were among the people lining Highway 401 to honour Master Warrant Officer Mario Mercier and Master Corporal Christian Duchesne. These two soldiers were killed in Afghanistan in August 2007. At the public's request, the stretch of highway between Trenton and Toronto, Ontario, was renamed the Highway of Heroes. What aspect(s) of nationalism does renaming this highway represent? What aspect(s) of nationalism do the veteran and the firefighters represent?

Nationalist Loyalties and Choices

Nationalist loyalties rarely demand extreme sacrifices like those made by some Canadian soldiers who have served in Afghanistan. But they can affect people's choices and decisions in various ways.

- If you feel loyalty to the Siksika nation, you might choose to attend a Sun Dance to express your sense of community.
- If you feel loyalty to the country of Madagascar, you might choose to periodically check the Internet for the latest news and stay in touch with your local Malagasy community.
- If you feel loyalty to Canada, you might choose to join Katimavik to learn about Canadian communities and help Canadians in various regions of the country.

With a partner, list three ways you show loyalty to a friend, to a group, or to Canada.

How Contending Loyalties Can Affect Choices

Loyalties are personal. They have a different significance for each individual, and their influence may vary in different situations. But people often make choices and decisions based on their loyalties.

When you are faced with **contending loyalties** — loyalties that compete — choosing between them can be difficult.

Suppose, for example, that you must decide what to do next Saturday. Your choices are as follows:

- attending a friend's birthday lunch
- going to your younger sister's hockey game
- helping members of your study group prepare a presentation that is due Monday morning

What loyalties might be involved in each of these commitments?

If you cannot rearrange plans, you must make a choice — and the importance you attach to various loyalties will play a role in your choice. Different people feel different loyalties that often contend for time, money, and emotions. And just as your life changes from day to day, so, too, do your loyalties and their relative importance to you.

Sometimes, choosing among contending loyalties can be difficult. If you chose to join Katimavik, for example, you might face some serious conflicts among your loyalties. The idea of helping build Canada one community at a time may appeal to your sense of citizenship. The leadership skills you will develop through Katimavik may appeal to your loyalty to yourself. But you would have to leave your family and community for nine months. Your loyalty to family and community might make joining Katimavik a difficult decision.

It can be difficult to distinguish — and choose between — aspects of national identity and loyalties. A person could agree, for example, with the idea of renaming a stretch of highway to honour soldiers who have died in Afghanistan. At the same time, that person could agree with artist Bob Krieger, who created the cartoon shown in Figure 3-5. Krieger suggests that the Canadian government should bring all the soldiers home immediately.

Figure 3-5 Canadian artist Bob Krieger created this cartoon in August 2006. Do you think the two statements — "Support our troops" and "Bring 'em home" — represent the same national loyalty or a conflict of national loyalties?

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. What are three words or phrases that describe the idea of contending loyalties?
2. Give two examples of contending loyalties that could affect your life in the near future.
3. In a small group, develop a scenario in which a person must choose among several loyalties. Identify the loyalties involved, as well as three possible courses of action. What choice would you make? Compare your choice with that of others in your group and discuss how loyalties shape people's choices.

What choices have people made to affirm nationalist loyalties?

People often do visible things to show their loyalty. As a high school student, for example, you might wear a T-shirt to show your commitment to your school community or one of its teams.

People can also affirm their nationalist loyalties by taking specific actions — individually or as part of a group. As an individual, you might, for example, wear a maple leaf pin when you are travelling. As part of a group, you might stand and sing the national anthem at hockey games and other gatherings.

Figure 3-6 Pangnirtung is a small town on the south shore of Baffin Island in Nunavut. The Inuit name means "place of the bull caribou." Why might this name be particularly meaningful to Inuit people? What practical knowledge does the name include?

Reclaiming Inuit Names

People sometimes use place names to affirm their nationalist loyalties. The Inuit of South Baffin Island, for example, started the South Baffin Place Names Project to record traditional Inuktitut place names. Inuktitut is the language of the Inuit. Inuktitut names were often ignored by Europeans who came to the area and gave places English or French names.

The Inuit are reclaiming many of their own names for places. Iqaluit, for example, is the capital of Nunavut. For decades, it was called Frobisher Bay. Martin Frobisher was a 16th-century English adventurer who landed there while looking for the Northwest Passage. In 1987, the name was changed back to Iqaluit, which means "place of fish."

Inuit place names often contain important information. Qimmisarnaq, for example, means "the place where you have to unhitch your dogs to go down." The name warned travellers that they were coming to a steep hill — they would have to proceed with care.

The South Baffin Place Names Project plans to produce a map of the place names collected from Elders. How would this map be useful to Inuit? How could it support a sense of nationalism among the Inuit? What could it teach other people?

Figure 3-7 This print, called *Spirit Caribou*, was created by Jolly Atagooyuk of Pangnirtung. Many artists, including printmakers, weavers, and sculptors, live in Pangnirtung. How does this print relate to Atagooyuk's Inuit heritage and the place where it was created?

Photographs of Unnamed People

Photographers started to take pictures of Inuit people in the late 1800s, but the people in the photographs were often not identified. Many of these photographs are in collections at Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa. The photographs have been digitized and made available on CD-ROM and over the Internet, and Inuit students are helping identify the many unnamed Inuit. The students show the photographs to Elders in their communities. Sometimes the Elders recognize — and identify — the people in the photographs.

VOICES

It was so exciting showing these Elders the pictures — it was almost like taking them back to the days when they were young. When I clicked onto each picture, I watched their eyes. As they recognized an individual, they would have a big smile on their faces . . . When I saw the happiness in their faces, all I could do was smile back at them and be thankful for doing this.

— Mathewsie Ashevak, Project Naming, 2004

To the Canadian government . . . I was Annie E7-121 . . . E stood for east and W stood for west. We were given a small disc looped on a sturdy string, brown with black lettering. I only learned about last names when I went to school in Toronto in the early 1960s. My foster parents let me use their family name, so in Toronto I went by Annie Cotterill — E7-121 was not a very attractive name for a young girl!

— Ann Meekitjuk Hanson, journalist, broadcaster, and commissioner of Nunavut, 1999

Names and Inuit Identity

Many Inuit have reclaimed their Inuit names. Traditionally, Inuit had only one name. In the late 1930s, the Canadian government decided that this made it hard to keep track of people, so the government assigned a personal number to each Inuk.

For the next 30 years, Inuit were required to use these numbers when dealing with the federal government. Some Inuit tell stories of teachers who used students' numbers rather than names. Some Inuit received letters that were addressed to a number, not a name. In 1969, the number system was abolished — but Inuit were told that they must choose a last name to add to their birth name.

Many governments assign numbers to citizens. You have a health card number, for example, and maybe a social insurance number and a driver's licence. Is assigning numbers simply a tool that makes things easier for the government — or is there something disturbing about it? Explain your response.

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Kiviaq
Championing a People's Rights

Figure 3-8 In his younger days, Kiviaq was a prizefighter who won 108 of 112 career matches. In 2006, Inuit filmmaker Zacharias Kunuk produced a 60-minute documentary titled *Kiviaq versus Canada* about this Inuk's struggle to affirm Inuit traditions and rights.

In 1936, an Inuit boy was born in a hunting camp near Chesterfield Inlet in Nunavut. As a baby, the Canadian government gave him the number E5-776. When his family moved to Edmonton three years later, his stepfather gave him a new name. He became David Ward.

Later, he told Jim Bell of the *Nunatsiaq News* about his early years in Edmonton: "My name was changed. My identity was changed. I wasn't allowed to talk about being Inuit." He wasn't even allowed to speak his native language, Inuktitut, at home.

He was bullied by children at school because he looked different, so he learned to box to defend himself. Eventually, he became a Canadian champion. He also played football with the Edmonton Eskimos. He was later elected to the Edmonton city council. And in 1983, he became the first Inuit lawyer in Canada.

Only then did he begin to explore his Inuit heritage and decide to reclaim the name he had been given at birth — Kiviaq. This was not easy, because Kiviaq wanted to observe the Inuit tradition of using only one name, while federal government officials insisted that he must choose a first and last name. After years of legal battles, in 2001, Kiviaq won the right to be known by his Inuit name.

Since then, Kiviaq has worked to help the Inuit achieve their rights. In 2004, he started a lawsuit demanding that Inuit be granted the same rights as First Nations, who have access to a long list of benefits, including money for post-secondary education. Kiviaq describes this battle, which remains unresolved, as the biggest fight of his life.

EXPLORATIONS

1. How are the choices that Kiviaq made — and fought for — related to his Inuit identity?
2. For much of his life, Kiviaq had little contact with other Inuit. Does someone need to be immersed in a nation to be loyal to it? Explain your response.

National Loyalties in a Pluralistic Society

Many immigrants come to Canada because of the country's reputation for **cultural pluralism** — encouraging people from various cultures to affirm and promote their unique cultural identity. Some immigrants to Canada come from countries where they are not free to affirm their cultural identity.

Canada's version of cultural pluralism is multiculturalism — and Canada was the first country to adopt multiculturalism as official government policy. Diversity is celebrated, and Canadians are encouraged to honour their cultural heritage. And Canadian law makes sure that they are free to do so.

But some people do not agree with Canada's multiculturalism and cultural pluralism. They ask how far a pluralistic nation should go to accommodate and protect the rights of cultural minorities.

In his book *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada*, Neil Bissoondath says that Canadian multiculturalism fails because it assumes "that people, coming here from elsewhere, wish to remain what they have been; that personalities and ways of doing things, ways of looking at the world, can be frozen in time." He also asks: "How far do we go as a country in encouraging and promoting cultural difference? How far is far enough, how far too far? Is there a point at which diversity begins to threaten social cohesion?"

John Ibbitson disagrees. He says that multiculturalism is Canada's strength. In *The Polite Revolution: Perfecting the Canadian Dream*, he wrote: "What matters about the Canadian mythical self-image is that we finally have one: that after years of muddle and confusion . . . a picture of Canada emerged in the minds of Canadians, a picture of tolerance and diversity and creativity and good humour . . . that makes Canadians feel, on most days, good about themselves." He added: "In some countries, it's called patriotism. It feels good."

Read the quotation from the Canadian Multiculturalism Act in "FYI." How does this act protect immigrants' cultural values and beliefs when they become Canadian citizens? Does becoming a Canadian citizen require immigrants to reject other nationalist loyalties?

FYI

Cultural pluralism is protected by the Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988. Part of this act says:

3. (1) It is hereby declared to be the policy of the Government of Canada to

(a) recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage.

Should Canada require immigrants to give up their previous nationalist loyalties when they become Canadian citizens?

Figure 3-9 Fans in Edmonton celebrate with the Chilean soccer team after their 1–0 victory over Portugal at the 2007 FIFA World Youth Championship. This tournament took place in Canada. Why do you think Canadians of Chilean heritage felt comfortable about displaying their loyalty to Chile in this way?

Expressing Non-Canadian Nationalist Loyalties

If you have ever changed schools, you will understand that it can take a while to feel as if you fit in. At first, you may be nervous about expressing loyalties that are part of your identity. A student who has moved to Calgary from Edmonton, for example, might not feel comfortable about publicly rooting for the Oilers or the Eskimos. But in time, this can change.

The same can be true of new Canadians. At first, their main concern may be fitting into their new country. In time, they may feel more comfortable about expressing non-Canadian nationalist loyalties.

New Canadians from China, for example, might look for news about their former homeland, cheer for Chinese athletes at the Olympics, or join a Chinese cultural organization. All these actions are ways of affirming a nationalist loyalty within a Canadian context.

Figure 3-10 With a turban and beard, Baltej Singh Dhillon stands with classmates at his 1991 RCMP graduation ceremony. "What is it to be Canadian, I think, ultimately becomes what it is to be a citizen of this Earth," Singh said in a CBC interview. "And Canada is, I believe, a petri dish for this world . . . we are a test sample. And how we do as a country is going to be judged globally." What do you think Dhillon meant?

Putting Pluralism to the Test

Canadians are divided over how much immigrants should try to fit into Canadian culture. This debate often focuses on **reasonable accommodation** — a legal and constitutional concept that requires Canadian public institutions to adapt to the religious and cultural practices of minorities as long as those practices do not violate other rights and freedoms.

In 1988, for example, Baltej Singh Dhillon challenged RCMP traditions. Dhillon, a Sikh immigrant from Malaysia, was accepted into the RCMP's training program. But the RCMP wanted him to cut his hair, shave his beard, and wear the Stetson that has been part of the Mountie uniform since 1873. For many Canadians, this uniform is a national symbol.

Dhillon argued that wearing a turban is a religious duty for Sikh men and that he was being forced to choose between serving his religion and serving his country. In 1990, the federal government agreed that Dhillon's request was reasonable. He could wear a turban rather than a Stetson. Dhillon became a full-fledged RCMP officer.

Figure 3-11 Some Understandings of Canadian Pluralism

National unity, if it is to mean anything in the deeply personal sense, must be founded on confidence in one's own individual identity . . . A vigorous policy of multiculturalism will help create this initial confidence. It can form the base of a society which is based on fair play for all.

— Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau

In the morning, I go to the Korean corner store to buy *Le Devoir* and *The Gazette*. Then I get my fresh challah at the European Kosher Bakery and say bonjour to my Greek neighbour. This may or may not be your Canada, but it's my neighbourhood. And my neighbourhood is my Canada.

— Marie-Louise Gay, Canadian author and illustrator

My personal position is that Québec is not multicultural and should not be. The Canadian constitution — which we never signed — should not be applied here.

— Bernard Landry, former premier of Québec

Canada has never been a melting pot; more like a tossed salad.

— Arnold Edinborough, writer and editor

Canada is the essence of not being. Not English, not American, it is the mathematic of not being. And a subtle flavour — we're more like celery as a flavour.

— Mike Myers, comedian and producer

Reasonable Accommodation and Nationalist Loyalties

Ever since Confederation, people have disagreed over whether the idea now known as reasonable accommodation supports a shared sense of Canadian identity and belonging — feelings that are essential to developing nationalist loyalties. In 2006, for example, Prime Minister Stephen Harper told a United Nations forum that "Canada's diversity, properly nurtured, is our greatest strength."

And the web site of the Department of Canadian Heritage says: "It is in building a peaceful, harmonious society that diversity plays its most dynamic role. It challenges [Canadians] to adapt and relate to one another *despite* our differences, which encourages understanding, flexibility and compromise. This makes us resilient — able to accommodate different points of view and see different ways to solve problems."

Web Connection

To find out more about multiculturalism and diversity in Canada, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

Reasonable Accommodation in Québec

In 2007, reasonable accommodation became an issue in Québec. Some minority communities were concerned about what they viewed as a lack of accommodation for their culture and religious beliefs.

In February 2007, for example, Asmahan Mansour was not allowed to play in a soccer game in Laval, Québec, because she was wearing a hijab. Some people, including Québec premier Jean Charest, agreed with the referee's call. Charest said that it was a safety issue that had nothing to do with reasonable accommodation. But others said that the call was an example of failing to accommodate the traditions of people from minority groups.

That same month, Charest formed a commission to explore issues related to reasonable accommodation in Québec. The two university professors who headed the commission — Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor — talked to people throughout the province. They noted that they were impressed by new Canadians "who left everything behind, who arrived here completely destitute with their families and children, who didn't even speak French, who couldn't find work in their profession, who experienced xenophobia [fear of outsiders] first-hand and who showed extraordinary courage in rebuilding their lives."

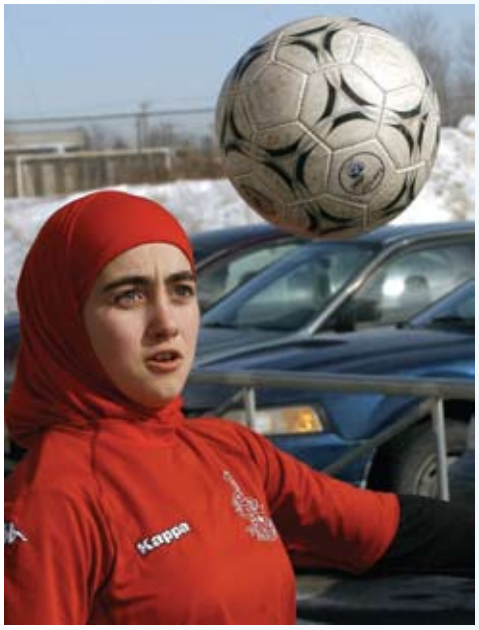


Figure 3-12 In February 2007, 11-year-old Asmahan Mansour was not allowed to play soccer in Laval, Québec, because she refused to remove her hijab. The other members of her team, Ottawa's Nepean Hotspurs Selects, walked off the field in a show of support.

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. In your own words, define reasonable accommodation.
2. List three adjectives that describe how Asmahan Mansour may have felt when she was ordered to remove her hijab. Then list three phrases that may describe how she felt when her teammates walked off the field to support her.
3. Changing the RCMP dress code to allow Baltej Singh Dhillon to wear a turban rather than a Stetson is an example of an accommodation that is considered reasonable.

   List three key arguments in favour of making reasonable accommodations — and three arguments that show possible drawbacks. Be careful to use language that respects the ideas and feelings of others.

Voices

Settling Down

Coming here
settling down
was easier for you
Homesick
I measured the miles
set the clock's dark hands
with a view of returning to home-
ground
. . . .
Days inched into years
I watched others
come and go back
go and come back
We never did
nor can we now
resettle in the old country
leave our children
and their children
settled down in theirs.

— *Margaret Saunders, in* Bridging the Gap, *1990*

<<< CheckBack

You read about the Battle of Vimy Ridge in Chapter 1

Figure 3-13 These Canadian veterans attended a ceremony at the Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial on July 1, 2006. The caribou on the monument is the emblem of the Newfoundland Regiment. What contending loyalties might Newfoundlanders feel on July 1?

How can nationalist loyalties create conflict?

Sometimes, people can be loyal to more than one nation and their nationalist loyalties can exist without conflict. If you are a new Canadian citizen, for example, you might feel a strong loyalty to Canada. At the same time, you might feel a strong loyalty to your homeland. You might show these two loyalties by following the news from your country of origin and attending a Canada Day celebration. Your loyalties can coexist without causing you conflict.

But nationalist loyalties are not always compatible. Their goals sometimes conflict. You may feel a strong loyalty to Canada. At the same time, you may feel a strong loyalty to Québec — and your loyalty to Québec might lead you to believe that the province should become independent. You would have a hard time making choices that would satisfy both these loyalties.

With a partner, read Margaret Saunder's poem in "Voices." The poem is about the contradictory feelings of an immigrant settling in a new country. The speaker longs for her homeland but realizes she cannot return. Explain the poet's contending loyalties.

July 1 in Newfoundland

On the morning of July 1, 1916, about 780 soldiers of the Newfoundland Regiment were ordered to advance against heavy machine gun and artillery fire at Beaumont-Hamel, France. Hundreds of soldiers were wounded and 324 killed. Only 68 soldiers were able to report for duty the next morning. This battle took place on the first day of the disastrous Battle of the Somme, which lasted for months. During those months, more than a million soldiers were killed or wounded.

Canadians celebrate Canada Day on July 1. The celebrations vary from serious and patriotic to wild and wacky. But July 1 means something different to many Newfoundlanders. When they wake up on July 1, some may plan to attend a Canada Day celebration. But they may also plan to attend Memorial Day ceremonies to honour the Newfoundlanders killed at Beaumont-Hamel during World War I.

In 1916, Newfoundland was a self-governing British dominion that had not yet joined Canada. The Newfoundland Regiment — made up of volunteers — was nearly wiped out at Beaumont-Hamel. This battle is as symbolic for Newfoundlanders as Vimy Ridge is for many other Canadians.

In his blog, Newfoundland-born comedian Rick Mercer described the mixed emotions many Newfoundlanders feel on July 1: "In one of those great Newfoundland-in-Confederation ironies, Canada Day is actually an official day of mourning in Newfoundland. You see, Canada just happens to celebrate its birthday on the anniversary of the bloodiest day in Newfoundland history."

Contending Loyalties and Conflict

Contending nationalist loyalties can lead to conflict between peoples. Conflict can arise, for example, when two peoples want to establish their nation in the same territory. If they cannot settle or resolve their conflicting loyalties, the result may be violence. This is the case in Israel. Both Israelis and Palestinians want to control the same territory, where both peoples have historical, religious, spiritual, cultural, and geographic ties.

Nationalist loyalties can also come into conflict as a result of other strong forces, such as language rights, human rights, and natural resources. What loyalties, if any, would you consider worth fighting for? Explain your response.

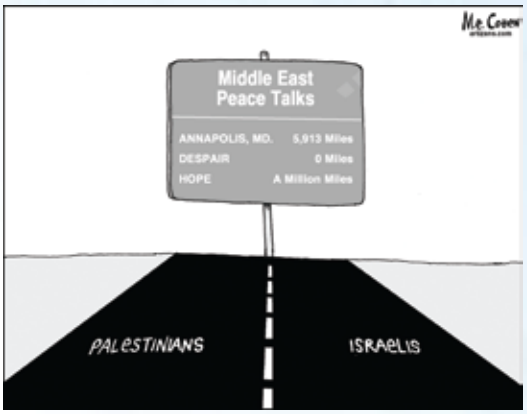


Figure 3-14 M.e. Cohen created this cartoon when Israeli and Palestinian leaders met at Annapolis, Maryland, to discuss peace in November 2007. How do you think the cartoonist feels about the chance for a successful end to the conflict over territory in Israel?

Taking Turns

Do contending nationalist loyalties create conflict for you?

The students responding to this question are Amanthi, who lives in Edson and whose parents immigrated from Sri Lanka; Blair, who lives in Edmonton and whose heritage is Ukrainian, Scottish, and German; and Rick, who was born in the United States but moved to Fort McMurray with his family when he was 10.

Amanthi

Yes, they do. My mother is the Canadian patriot in the family. At our house, Mum seems to want to decorate everything to be as "Canadian" as she can make it. My dad couldn't care less. He spends his evenings glued to his computer. He was a police officer in Sri Lanka, and he still sends e-mails to his old pals every night. My parents argue about how much time he spends on the computer — and about how much she spends on redecorating. But I think their arguments are really about their changing nationalist loyalties.

My loyalty is to Canada — 100 per cent. My heritage is a bit of a mixed bag. I have Scottish, German, and Ukrainian ancestors. Some were farm folk, but most of them lived — and died — right here in Strathcona. At World Cup time, I might root for Scotland or Germany because of family ties, but if a Canadian team ever made the tournament, I'd be decked out in red and white for sure.

Blair

Rick

Contending loyalties? Are you kidding? I grew up in the United States. Every 4th of July, my family draped a big flag across the porch railing. We were good Americans — and we weren't embarrassed to show it. Now I'm a dual citizen: Canadian and American. Which comes first? Sometimes, I'm not sure. There are lots of great things about Canada. But it really bugs me when my friends slag Americans for the war in Iraq. I'm always explaining that there are just as many points of view on war and terrorism in the United States as there are in Canada. So, yeah, sometimes it's hard to separate my feelings for my birth country and my adopted country.

Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Amanthi, Blair, and Rick are answering? Which of the three are experiencing contending loyalties that affect their own identity? Which are experiencing conflict between people as a result of contending nationalist loyalties? Do you think these conflicts can be resolved?

IMPACT

Québécois Nationalism

By the 1950s, Francophone Québécois were a tiny minority in North America. Canada and the United States were dominated by the English language and culture. Most TV shows and movies were in English, English-language music was played on radios, and English was the language of many Québec workplaces.

Francophone Québécois wanted to make sure that their language and culture would survive — and they wanted to play a bigger role in the Québec economy. At that time, most of the best jobs in the province were held by anglophones. Québec Francophones began to look for ways to take control of their economy and protect themselves against becoming part of North America's English-language culture.

Population

In 1851, most residents of Québec were Francophones, and Québec's 890 000 people made up about a third of Canada's total population. That changed when 70 000 Québécois moved to the United States during the 1850s to work in factories along the east coast. Others moved to Western Canada.

Eight per cent of Québec's total population left the province during that time. If Francophone Québécois continued to leave at the same rate, the French language and culture might not survive in Canada.

In response, the Québec government and the Catholic Church, which played a leading role in Québec, encouraged Francophone Québécois to continue living their traditional rural lifestyle. Québécois were encouraged to speak French, practise their religion, and have large families to increase the province's Francophone population.

Figure 3-15 Every year, some Francophone Québécois march on July 1 to protest Canada Day celebrations, which they view as a demonstration of colonialism. In 2007, this Montréal marcher carried a sign saying, "In Québec, everything in French and only in French." If you were in his shoes, do you think you would feel the same way?

Language and Economic Opportunity

With encouragement from the church and the government, Québec's Francophone population grew. But anglophones still dominated business in Québec, even though they were a minority of the province's population. By the 1960s, the average Francophone Québécois was earning about 40 per cent less than the average anglophone Québécois. But Francophones' job opportunities improved and their earnings went up if they learned English.

At the time, visitors to Québec could conduct all their business in English. They could speak English when they were buying things, ordering food, holding meetings, and dealing with government officials. Immigrants to the province could send their children to schools where they were taught in English — and most did. They wanted their children to have the opportunities that anglophones had in Québec.

The Quiet Revolution

During the 1960s and 1970s, provincial governments in Québec put in place significant social, political, and economic reforms. These reforms became known as the "Quiet Revolution." The government

- modernized the education system to include more science and business studies
- improved social programs
- tried to promote Québécois-owned businesses

These changes meant that Québec Francophones could work in more jobs than before.

The Quiet Revolution also changed Québec from a largely rural, religion-focused, French-speaking society into a modern, urban, industrial, and secular — non-religious — French-speaking society.

Ready for Change

By 1976, Francophone Québécois were ready to listen to the Parti Québécois — a provincial political party that wanted Québec to become a separate country and was offering solutions to the concerns of Francophone Québécois. That year, the province elected a PQ government.

In 1977, the PQ passed Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language. This law made French the only official language in the province. It required French to be used in all workplaces, in law courts and in writing laws and other legal documents, and on all public and commercial signs.

Bill 101 also restricted access to English-language schooling. Immigrants to Québec were required to enrol their children in French schools. For many Québécois, Bill 101 was an expression of nationalism. It showed that they intended to affirm and promote their distinct language and culture.

Bill 101 and Québec Anglophones

Bill 101 shocked anglophone Québécois. Many said that the new language laws took away their rights as citizens of a bilingual Canada.

Between 1976 and 1981, more than 94 000 anglophones decided to leave Québec. Estimates also suggested that at least 42 large companies had moved their head offices to Toronto from Montréal.

Some anglophones challenged the language laws in the courts with varying degrees of success. As a result, the laws have softened somewhat.

Figure 3-16 Percentage of Population Speaking French at Home, 1971 and 2001

Year	Québec	Canada not including Québec	Alberta
1971	80.8 %	4.3%	1.4%
2001	82.2%	3.0%	1.0%

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of 1971 and 2001

- People can again use French or English in Québec's legislature and courts.
- Children who have been educated in English elsewhere in Canada before moving to Québec can continue their schooling in English.
- As long as French predominates on commercial signs, English and other languages are permitted.

But in general, the courts confirmed Québec's right to protect the French language.

Bill 101 and Québec Francophones

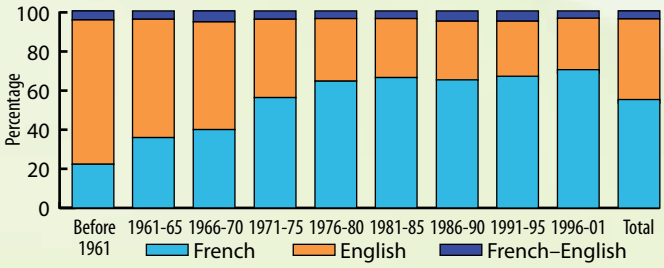
Since 1977, the percentage of the population speaking French in Québec has increased (see Figure 3-16). During the same years, the percentage of the Canadian — and Albertan — population speaking French has decreased.

Before 1961, most immigrants to Québec whose first language was neither French nor English spoke English at home. But since 1977, the number of immigrants who speak French at home has increased (see Figure 3-17).

Bill 101 supported this change by ensuring that French would be the usual language of government, workplaces, education, communications, and business.

Some of the Francophone Québécois who benefited economically from Bill 101 and other changes in Québec society have become increasingly reluctant to consider separation from Canada. They are afraid that separation might threaten their newfound economic success.

Figure 3-17 Tendency of Allophone* Immigrants to Use French or English or Both at Home, by Period of Immigration, Québec, 2001



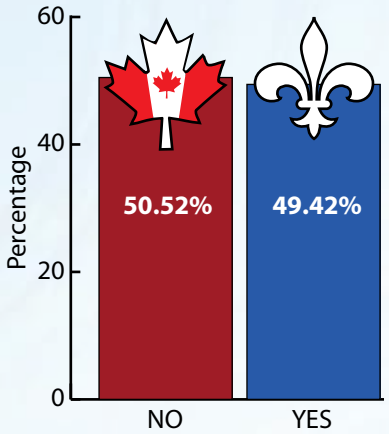
Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census

* Allophone: An immigrant whose first language is neither French nor English.

EXPLORATIONS

1. Examine Figures 3-16 and 3-17. What trends do you see? If these data were collected in 2020, what do you think the figures might show? Explain why.
2. Some Francophone Québécois parents have tried to persuade the courts to rule that Québec must provide more English-language education in schools. Some have even tried to enrol their children in English-language schools. As of 2008, their efforts had been unsuccessful. What do you think these parents might have hoped to achieve? Why would they have hoped to achieve this?

Figure 3-18 Québec Sovereignty Referendum Results, 1995



Contending Loyalties in Québec

Québécois have a long history of struggling with contending nationalist loyalties. In 1995, a referendum on separating from Canada forced them to choose between their loyalty to Québec and their loyalty to Canada. A remarkable 93.5 per cent of Québécois voted in this referendum. The no side — those who wanted Québec to stay in Canada — won by a narrow margin of 50.52 per cent to 49.42 percent for the yes side. This result showed that voters were nearly equally divided over how to reconcile their contending nationalist loyalties.

By 2006, a poll of Québécois found that support for staying in Canada had risen. Fifty-eight per cent of respondents said they would vote for Québec to remain in the country. They wanted their politicians to work on behalf of Québécois but within the framework of the Canadian nation-state.

The Sovereignty Debate

Québécois who support the idea of Québec's becoming an independent nation-state are sometimes called **sovereignists** because they believe that Québec is a sovereign nation that should be politically independent of Canada.

Québécois who oppose sovereignty say that the Québécois identity cannot be separated from the Canadian identity. These people are sometimes called **federalists** because they believe that Québec should remain part of the Canadian confederation.

Figure 3-19 Two Views of the Debate over Sovereignty

Sovereignists	Federalists
Lucien Bouchard, who was premier of Québec from 1996 to 2001, expressed the sovereignist perspective when he said:	Raymond Giroux, an editorial writer for *Le Soleil*, expressed the federalist perspective when he wrote:
In Québéc, we are a people, we are a nation, and as a nation we have a fundamental right to keep, maintain, and protect our territory . . . Canada is divisible because it is not a real country. There are two peoples, two nations, and two territories. And this one is ours.	Our Canada was born in 1534, not in 1867. Therein lies the deep Canadian misunderstanding. There lies, also, the source of the division in Québec, torn between its old continental nationalism and its more recent, narrower, territorial nationalism . . . Even in a time of real political turmoil, Québécois still consider themselves Canadians and are not ready for what they see as a shameful retreat to the present boundaries of Québéc.

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. In your own words, explain what the phrase "contending nationalist loyalties" means.
2. Give an example of contending nationalist loyalties. Describe how serious this conflict is — or could become.
3. Work with a small group to create a slogan or symbol that celebrates Canada as a nation that draws its identity and strength from its diversity. Share your group's idea with other groups and the class.

How have people reconciled contending nationalist loyalties?

Reconciling can mean coming to terms with the past or mending a broken relationship. When two friends disagree, an act of **reconciliation** can help resolve their differences and bring them together again. Similarly, when peoples or nations disagree or when their nationalist loyalties lead them to pursue contending goals, reconciliation can bring them together and help them live together in peace.

When two contending nations cannot be reconciled, the outcome may be serious. It may lead to political struggles and even to war.

Aboriginal Peoples in Canada

In the past, Canadian governments tried to force First Nations, Inuit, and Métis to abandon their culture and traditions and fit in to mainstream society. This policy has been changing over the past few decades. Governments have begun to recognize Aboriginal and treaty rights. These rights are now enshrined in the Canadian Constitution. But many First Nations, Inuit, and Métis continue to struggle to control their own destiny.

The Oka Crisis

In 1990, a group of Mohawks on the Kanesatake reserve, near the Québec village of Oka, set up a roadblock and a camp. Their goal was to stop the expansion of a golf course onto land the Mohawks said was theirs.

On July 11, Québec's provincial police force was ordered to break up the protest. Shots were fired and a police officer was killed.

The violence became a major news story in Canada and other countries. Other First Nations set up their own roadblocks to support the protest. As the crisis deepened, the Québec government called in the army. More than 2500 Canadian soldiers moved in and gradually began to cut off the protesters' communications with the outside world. The protest finally ended on September 26.

Many protesters faced criminal charges, but nearly all were found not guilty. Although the federal government later bought the disputed land and transferred ownership to the Mohawks, the crisis left a legacy of bitterness among the people of Kanesatake and other Aboriginal people.

With a partner, create a list of the stakeholders in the Oka crisis. What contending nationalist loyalties divided them?

Figure 3-20 Oka and Kanesatake

To see a more detailed map of Canada, turn to the map appendix.

Figure 3-21 This famous photograph is one of the most enduring images of the Oka crisis. It shows Canadian soldier Patrick Cloutier nose to nose with masked protester Brad Larocque. What ideas make this picture so powerful? What contending loyalties are displayed?

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples

The Oka crisis was a wakeup call for the federal government. In 1991, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney set up the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. The **royal commission** was made up of four Aboriginal and three non-Aboriginal people. It was chaired by Georges Erasmus, a former national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, and Justice René Dussault of the Québec Appeal Court. The commissioners' goal was to answer this question: What are the foundations of a fair and honourable relationship between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people of Canada?

The commissioners listened to more than 2000 people, visited 96 communities, talked to many experts, and reviewed a great deal of research. They published their groundbreaking five-volume report in 1996.

The report — titled *People to People, Nation to Nation* — condemned the treatment of Aboriginal peoples. It summed up the commissioners' main conclusion with these words: "The main policy direction, pursued for more than 150 years, first by colonial then by Canadian governments, has been wrong."

The report urged Canadians to view First Nations, Inuit, and Métis as nations with a right to govern themselves in partnership with Canada. It said:

> [Aboriginal peoples] are political and cultural groups with values and lifeways distinct from those of other Canadians. They lived as nations . . . for thousands of years before the arrival of Europeans. As nations, they forged trade and military alliances among themselves and with the new arrivals. To this day, Aboriginal people's sense of confidence and well-being as individuals remains tied to the strength of their nations. Only as members of restored nations can they reach their potential in the twenty-first century.

The royal commission proposed four principles as the basis for a renewed relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the people of Canada: mutual recognition, respect, sharing, and responsibility.

FYI

Governments use royal commissions to deal with complicated national issues. A royal commission is an independent public inquiry. Commissions hear what the people involved have to say and then recommend ways of resolving the problem. Governments may or may not follow a commission's recommendations.

Picturing the Four Principles of *People to People, Nation to Nation*

Figure 3-22 On January 28, 2006, Rodney Isnana of the Standing Buffalo First Nation in Saskatchewan carried a Canadian flag during the grand entrance to the powwow that began the Dakota Nation Winter Festival.

Figure 3-23 On June 21, 2007, Aboriginal war veterans Claude Petit and Larry Belanger honoured the memory of First Nations soldiers at the National Aboriginal Veterans Monument in Ottawa. Thousands of Aboriginal people served in Canada's Armed Forces in the two world wars and the Korean War.

1 The principle of mutual recognition calls on non-Aboriginal Canadians to recognize that Aboriginal people are the original inhabitants and caretakers of this land and have distinctive rights and responsibilities flowing from that status. It calls on Aboriginal people to accept that non-Aboriginal people are also of this land now, by birth and by adoption, with strong ties of love and loyalty.

2 The principle of respect calls on all Canadians to create a climate of positive mutual regard between and among peoples. Respect provides a bulwark [barrier] against attempts by one partner to dominate or rule over another.

Canadian Government's Statement of Reconciliation

The findings of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples led the federal government to issue a statement of reconciliation in 1998. The government acknowledged that First Nations have lived in North America for thousands of years. It also admitted that past governments had damaged the culture and traditions of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples. Governments had taken away their land, moved them onto reserves they did not want to go to, and forced their children to live in and attend residential schools.

The government apologized to Aboriginal peoples in Canada: "The Government of Canada today formally expresses to all Aboriginal people in Canada our profound regret for past actions of the federal government which have contributed to these difficult pages in the history of our relationship together." The statement also praised "the strength and endurance of Aboriginal people that they have maintained their historic diversity and identity."

The statement said that reconciliation is a continuing process that would not succeed if the mistakes of the past are repeated. Aboriginal peoples must have an equal share in the economic, political, cultural, and social life of Canada. At the same time, their collective identities must be honoured by all citizens.

Aboriginal people reacted to the statement with mixed feelings. Some saw it as a positive step. Others saw it as nothing but empty words. Can a statement like this be an important part of the reconciliation process? Can it have a negative effect? Explain your responses.

Web Connection

To read more of *People to People, Nation to Nation* and the Canadian government's Statement of Reconciliation, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

Figure 3-24 In October 2005, James Bay Cree greeted visitors arriving at the Kashechewan reserve with this sign. Many people were forced to leave because deadly bacteria had been found in the reserve's water supply. First Nations leaders challenged Canadian politicians to provide better living conditions for Aboriginal people. They questioned whether non-Aboriginal people would accept situations like this in their own communities.

Figure 3-25 On April 13, 2000, Gary Alexcee (left), chief councillor of the Nisga'a Nation, celebrated outside the Parliament buildings in Ottawa. The federal government had just passed the Nisga'a Final Agreement. The Nisga'a, the B.C. government, and the federal government were partners in this treaty, which affirmed the Nisga'a's rights to their land and its resources.

3 The principle of sharing calls for the giving and receiving of benefits in fair measure. It is the basis on which Canada was founded, for if Aboriginal peoples had been unwilling to share what they had and what they knew about the land, many of the newcomers would not have lived to prosper.

4 Responsibility is the hallmark of a mature relationship. Partners in such a relationship must be accountable for the promises they have made, accountable for behaving honourably, and accountable for the impact of their actions on the well-being of the other.

Land Claims

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples said that Aboriginal peoples and Canadians must learn to share the land they both live in. But the federal government's Statement of Reconciliation did not mention sharing the land or settling land claims. A **land claim** is an Aboriginal people's claim to the right to control the land where they traditionally lived.

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples identified the use and control of land as the source of "the most intense conflicts between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people." The commission called on the government to change its approach to Aboriginal land claims.

Settling land claims has always been a long, involved process. The James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement, for example, was reached in 1975 — but some terms were not settled until 2008.

The parties to this comprehensive land-claim agreement are the Québec government, the federal government, and the Cree and Inuit peoples of James Bay. The dispute started in 1971 when the Québec government started to build a huge hydro project on Cree and Inuit land. The project diverted rivers and flooded communities and traditional hunting lands. It took more than 30 years — and many studies and court cases — to settle the dispute.

Compare the area of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement shown in Figure 3-26 to the area of the whole province of Québec. Make an estimate of what percentage of the province is covered by the agreement. What effect might this have had on settling the agreement?

On June 29, 2007, the Assembly of First Nations organized a National Day of Action to highlight various issues, including delays in settling outstanding land claims. On that day, Phil Fontaine, national chief of the AFN, told an Ottawa audience that First Nations are fed up with the slow pace of negotiations. "Since the first treaty was signed with us in 1701, our peoples have believed that co-operation must pave the way to progress," Fontaine said. "We like to believe that all Canadians feel this way. Consider where that attitude has gotten us. Obviously, not very far."

First Nations are losing patience, Fontaine said. "Many of our communities have reached the breaking point . . . People are so tired and fed up with this type of existence — especially when all around them is a better life . . . Living without hope is perhaps the worst aspect of life for so many of Canada's First Nations peoples. That lack of hope plays out in many ways. Desperation breeds abuse, suicide, crime, civil disobedience."

Think about the Oka crisis, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, the government's Statement of Reconciliation, and land claims. With a partner, create a T-chart. In the first column, record each of these events or issues. In the second column, state whether the event or issue helped or hindered Aboriginal peoples' attempts to reconcile contending nationalist loyalties. Explain your responses.

Figure 3-26 James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement

To see a more detailed map of Canada, turn to the map appendix.

Figure 3-27 This cartoon was created by Canadian artist John Larter. Many Aboriginal peoples in Canada are fed up with the paperwork — reports, surveys, and studies — that can hold up settlement of their land claims. Would you say the cartoonist agrees with this sentiment? Why do you think it takes so long for Canadian governments to settle Aboriginal land claims?

THE VIEW FROM HERE

When the Assembly of First Nations declared June 29, 2007, a National Day of Action, they hoped to raise awareness of issues affecting First Nations people in Canada and invited all Canadians to support a better life for First Nations peoples. Most demonstrations on the National Day of Action were peaceful. But in Ontario, a group of Mohawks from the Tyendinaga reserve, between Toronto and Kingston, blocked CN's main rail line and shut down Highway 401. Here is how several First Nations people viewed the events of that day.

Doug Cuthand, a member of the Little Pine First Nation in Saskatchewan, is a journalist and film producer and director. In the *Regina Leader-Post*, he warned against interpreting the largely peaceful gatherings as a sign that everything is fine.

> Why the lack of civil disobedience? It's not as if we don't care or aren't upset with our lot within Canada. It's because we are Canadians and we are a part of a national culture of negotiation and the respect of law. It's a national characteristic that defines us . . .
>
> But don't confuse our orderly conduct as a sign that things are fine. Things are not fine, and we have serious problems after over a century of colonialism and failed promises.

Shawn Brant, who organized the blockade in Ontario, is a member of the Bay of Quinte Mohawks and an activist who believes in direct action. He made the following comments in a CBC interview.

> We feel it's only been through these type of actions that First Nations issues have been made a priority for Canadians and have elevated it in priorities for this government. We'll continue to push this button as long as we have outstanding issues and we'll continue to do it until there's some results . . .
>
> This is the first time ever we've shut down the 401, and I don't believe it's going to be the last. It was certainly a good test run for us.

Marilyn Jensen of the Carcross Tagish First Nation in southern Yukon is a director, producer, singer, and dancer with First Peoples Performances. Jensen helped the group organize a peaceful march and rally in Carcross.

> I wouldn't really say direct action is always an ugly thing. Sometimes it needs to happen so people will hear, so people will notice. All I know is that myself and the group that I am working with, we've planned a peaceful protest. We know that we live here with other people and we respect that. We respect the goings-on in our community and we respect other people, so we're keeping our demonstration, our protest peaceful.

EXPLORATIONS

1. Think about each speaker's words in the context of reconciling nationalist loyalties. List the key words or phrases that reveal each speaker's attitude toward reconciling nationalist loyalties.
2. Do you think the use of force helps or hurts the reconciliation process? Explain your answer.
3. Is it important to achieve reconciliation between contending nationalist loyalties within Canadian society? Explain your response.

THINK...PARTICIPATE...RESEARCH...COMMUNICATE...

1. "The Maple Leaf Forever" was written by Scottish-born Alexander Muir. It was wildly popular with Canadians of British heritage from 1867, when it was written, until the mid-20th century. During that time, this song was often described as Canada's unofficial national anthem.

   The Maple Leaf Forever

   In days of yore, from Britain's shore,
   Wolfe, the dauntless hero came,
   And planted firm Britannia's flag,
   On Canada's fair domain.
   Here may it wave, our boast, our pride,
   And join in love together,
   The thistle, shamrock, rose* entwine
   The Maple Leaf forever!

   Chorus
   The Maple Leaf, our emblem dear,
   The Maple Leaf forever!
   God save our Queen, and Heaven bless,
   The Maple Leaf forever!

   * The thistle is an emblem of Scotland; the shamrock is an emblem of Ireland; and the rose is an emblem of England.

   a) Examine the first verse and chorus of "The Maple Leaf Forever." Whose loyalties were affirmed by this song? Whose loyalties were ignored? What impact might this song have had on contending nationalist loyalties?

   b) At one time, many people were in favour of making "The Maple Leaf Forever" Canada's national anthem. This began to change in the mid-20th century as Canada became more culturally diverse. With a partner, list two arguments in favour of making "The Maple Leaf Forever" the national anthem. List two arguments against. Be sure that at least one of your arguments mentions contending nationalist loyalties. Remember to use respectful language.

2. You explored various ideas about ethnic and civic nations in Chapter 1. Choose a nation mentioned in this chapter and explain whether you think the contending loyalties felt by people illustrate civic or ethnic nationalism. Support your opinion by citing evidence.

3. Create an inventory of nationalist symbols, events, and activities you encounter over the course of a week. Record your observations on a chart like the one shown on this page. Do not repeat symbols, events, or activities you encounter every day. If, for example, you see the Canadian flag flying outside your school every morning, list this only once. The chart includes some examples to help you get started.

   At the end of the week, write a few sentences that express your feelings about the nationalist symbols and activities you encountered. Were you surprised, for example, by how many you encountered? By how few? Were you comfortable with the number or kinds of symbols you encountered? Were you uncomfortable? Why?

Day	Symbol, Event, or Activity
Wednesday	Canadian flag at school Sang "O Canada" to start the school day Saw an ad for the Canadian forces on TV
Thursday	

Skill Builder to Your Challenge

Plan and Draft an Opinion Paragraph

The challenge for Related Issue 1 asks you to create a feature for a magazine or e-zine. This feature will explore connections between nation and identity.

In this third skill builder, you will plan and draft a supported opinion paragraph to include in your feature. Your paragraph will express your response to the related-issue question: Should nation be the foundation of identity?

Step 1: Think about your opinion

Think about how you will decide on your position. List two or three criteria you will use to guide your judgment. Express each criterion in the form of a question. Check page 6 of the prologue for tips on choosing and expressing criteria.

Step 2: Review your notes

Review the headline you have chosen for your feature (see "Skill Builder," p. 39) and the visuals and quotations you have selected (see "Skill Builder," p. 61). These should support your opinion.

Step 3: Plan and draft your paragraph

Writing is a process. Most people plan and write several drafts before they are satisfied that they have said exactly what they want to say.

Draft a version of your paragraph. Consider following this revision schedule:

- Revision 1 — Share your first draft with a partner or your teacher. Revise your paragraph on the basis of the feedback you receive.
- Revision 2 — Check your revision to make sure your paragraph is logical, makes sense, and includes the criteria you used to reach your judgment.
- Revision 3 — Polish your paragraph. Check spelling and grammar. Make sure you have used language that expresses exactly what you mean. You will complete this revision at the end of Chapter 4.

Tips for Writing an Effective Supported Opinion Paragraph

- Your paragraph should make a clear point and state the criteria you used to arrive at your judgment.
- The topic — first — sentence should clearly express your opinion and make the main point you want readers to consider.
- The other sentences should summarize the criteria you used to guide your judgment and help readers understand and appreciate how and why you formed your opinion.
- The final sentence should summarize your arguments and restate your opinion.